4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

In the eastern districts there are more stores, and trade is generally brisker, so that there is not so much opportunity for extended personal contact; then, too, there are other white people to ask for advice or assistance. Hence the relationship between trader and Indian is likely to be more impersonal than in the West. Furthermore, there are a few Indian traders to supply some commercial needs.

THE PAPAGO AND GOVERNMENT: THE AGENCY

The three Papago reservations are under the jurisdiction of the Sells Agency[2] of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, headed by a superintendent and staffed by about two hundred administrators, technicians, clerical and manual workers. In addition to the Administrative Branch, which has the general "housekeeping" duties of the staff, the Agency is composed of three branches: Indian Resources and Engineering (whose functions were discussed in chap. iii), Community Services—Education, Health, Law and Order, and Social Service—which are discussed below. This staff performs for a group of nearly seven thousand Indians many of the functions which in other parts of the country are the province of such local and state organizations and officials as boards of health, education and welfare, state and municipal highway departments, county agents, boards of supervisors, and public safety departments. In most of its programs the Agency staff works in close co-operation with the tribal council, and it seeks to gain widespread public support before new developments are initiated.

PAPAGO SCHOOLS

As previously noted, the Papago have a short life-span, two-fifths of the population being under eighteen years of age, according to ration-book data in 1942. The school-age group alone (six to seventeen years, inclusive) numbered 1,681 children—25 per cent of the population. Not only a much higher proportion of the people are of school age than is customary in other parts of the country, but many of the children live in tiny remote villages, where roads are only wagon trails. Thus the problem of providing schools is greater.

There were in 1943 eighteen day schools on the three Papago reservations. Of these, eleven were maintained by the Indian Service, all of them on the main Reservation. The Roman Catholic missions had six day schools (one on the San Xavier Reservation) and the Presbyterians one at San Miguel in Chukut Kuk District. Off the reservations, Papago children attend four boarding schools and various special schools and sanatoriums run by the Indian

2. Renamed "Papago Indian Agency" in 1948.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

government and religious boarding schools whose aim was to make Indians as rapidly as possible into white men. Strict and often military discipline prevailed. Papago who went to these schools often feel that the present government schools do not make the pupils work hard enough and that discipline is lax. The boys, they say, are not receiving the rigorous training for leadership that they themselves acquired. They admit, however, that the present religious schools, where more conservative curriculum and strict discipline prevail, do not produce leaders either; they train for obedience rather than leadership.

How much the education offered in either the religious or the Indian Service schools "takes" appears to be partly a matter of the child's attitude and that of his parents. Many who have been in school learned so little that their schooling seems to have made little difference to them. On the other hand, most of the village chiefs and the rising leaders are men who have learned to speak English in school, and the majority of them come from districts where schools are well established. In such districts are seen the tin roofs, stoves, refrigerators, cars, and radios of the more acculturated Papago, the desire for which is often acquired in school. There is also evident among the Papago who have been to school a tendency to mingle more freely with people other than relatives. School friendships are helping to break down the old barriers between kin and nonkin and thus are helping to make the Papago more one people.

PAPAGO HEALTH AND MEDICAL SERVICES

One of the prime objectives of the Agency is to improve Papago health. The birth rate on the three reservations in 1943 was estimated at 42.3 per thousand population, as compared with 23.9 for all United States Indians, and 19.5 for the country as a whole. But the estimated death rate was 32.5 per thousand, as against 13.3 for all Indians, and 10.5 for the United States. In proportion to population, many more Papago babies are born than white, but a much larger proportion die; infant mortality in 1943 is believed to have been 258 per thousand live births as against 40 for the country as a whole. Tuberculosis is exceedingly common; while the exact incidence is not known for lack of examination facilities, the mortality rate was estimated at at least 300 per 100,000 populaton, on the basis of diagnosed cases alone, or about seven times the rate for the country as a whole. Nutritional diseases and bad teeth are also common.[5]

To cope with these medical problems, the Agency has one thirty-eight-bed hospital at Sells,[6] with a normal staff of one white senior physician and six

5. For a discussion of the health of Papago children see chap. xii.
6. This hospital burned down in the summer of 1947.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

can indeed be considered inadequate, especially for children, who require more high-grade proteins and more vitamins than adults. 146

Another factor which may aggravate the conditions of undernourishment and malnutrition produced by the limitations of Papago diet is perhaps to be found in the general attitude of adult Papago toward their children. Recognition of the difference between the needs and reactions of the child and the adult, as far as it is determined by such factors as the physiological process of growth, does not seem to be part of the Papago pattern of training and guidance of children. This attitude seems to be fundamentally different from that predominant in modern white civilization, where a child is a being in development, an organism that has not reached its full strength and maturity and must be guided toward this goal even against its will. A child who prefers pickles to spinach will nevertheless have to eat more spinach. In front of her son who is crying angrily because he had to leave a toy and eat his oatmeal, the white mother stands serene and without feelings of guilt, convinced that she is acting for the child's own good. 146 858

The Papago do not ignore the facts of physiological maturity or immaturity. But, as in the art of the Middle Ages, where the child represented in his mother's lap looks like a miniature grown-up, the Papago child seems to be considered a small-sized man or woman, sexually immature but otherwise organically undifferentiated from the fully grown.

This matter will be dealt with at greater length in later chapters; here we are interested only in the effect of this attitude upon the children's health. The little men and women enjoy great freedom as to what and how much food they choose to eat, almost as soon as they are weaned from their mothers' breasts. Unwillingness to eat, a preference for a certain dish, or a refusal of others is to a great extent respected and indulged. In many cases this practice means a further restriction or increased imbalance of Papago diet—a restriction which favors undernourishment and malnutrition. In small children it often causes serious digestive disorders which play a considerable role in the high infant mortality (estimated at 258 per 1,000 live births as contrasted with 40.4 per 1,000 live births for the country as a whole). The right of self-determination seems to go still further. As soon as children are able to express their wishes, they are asked whether or not they desire medical treatment when they are ill. If they refuse to submit to treatment in spite of attempts at friendly persuasion, the matter is usually dropped, however grave and dangerous the illness. Probably there is a direct connection between this attitude and Papago magic beliefs and fear of the dead. Its influence upon the children's gen- [165]

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

die from it, having acquired it through contagion. Although in no way a prison as to its restrictions, nevertheless the school as at present conducted does them harm physically. The confinement to which they have not been accustomed seems to undermine their health. In these days of advanced methods of teaching some remedy for this condition no doubt will be found. One absolutely necessary change is to alter the construction of the school-houses so as to make them sanitary through unlimited access of air. Even the Presbyterian Mission, which has been of considerable benefit to the Indian, has erected outside of Tucson incredibly inappropriate buildings, made of brick and substantial, to be sure, but singularly out of place in the glare and heat of the Arizona desert. Prof. R. H. Forbes, of Arizona University, told me that in the White Mountain Apache school, at White River, ninety per cent of the children have tuberculosis, chiefly glandular. This statement was made to him by the physician in charge. Would it not be better to leave the Indians uneducated than to proceed in this manner?

Not long ago the makai (medicine-men) had as many as five wives each, while the usual number for the ordinary man was two. At present it is very rare to find a Papago with more than one wife, and the average number of children in a family is usually no less than eight, but the mortality among infants is great. The position of woman is equality with man. To be sure, the man never carries burdens—that is relegated to the woman's domain—but she is the mistress of the house. She is,

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Table 10. Age Proportions
of "Primitive" and "Civilized" Groups

Age Group	Navajo	1959 Papago	Sweden
0- 4	17.1%	14.65%	9.1%
5-14	28.9	25.71	13.9
15-24	20.0	18.86	12.9
25-34	11.3	14.24	15.6
35-44	8.2	10.13	15.5
45-54	5.9	7.81	13.0
55-64	3.6	4.48	10.0
65+	4.2	4.08	10.1

The columns show the differing proportions of "primitive" and "civilized" populations which appear in the various age classes. The basic variable is life expectancy. In populations such as the Navajo, with short life-span, there is a tendency for a large proportion of the total group to be concentrated in the lower age ranges. In Western European civilization, where nations have the world's longest life expectancies, the population when grouped by age, tends to distribute equally across all categories.

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The transitional nature of the Papago population is illustrated by comparison of proportions of all three populations under 25 years of age. The Navajo proportion is 66%, the Papago is 59%, and the Swedish, 36%. The table above shows the Papago proportion in each age class to fall between the extremes represented by Sweden and Navajo.

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Race Composition. The trend in favor of greater racial mixture at the younger age levels has already been noted. One out of every three Papago children born today has at least

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657 There are five welfare categories, Old Age Assistance, Aid to Dependent Children, Aid to the Blind (all administered by the state welfare office), Child Welfare and General Assistance (administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs). In addition, everyone eligible for assistance in the above categories, plus those of minimum income, are eligible for surplus food under the Surplus Commodities Program (a state agency).

162 By 1962, according to Jones, the number of reservation welfare cases
657 had jumped from 448 to 536, not counting an estimated fifteen children receiving Child Welfare benefits and 170 heads of households receiving surplus food. Counting dependents this means that more than 1800 residents out of a total of about 5000 on the three Papago reservations are receiving some assistance, directly or indirectly, from welfare programs.

162 Welfare statistics pertaining to the Papago reservations are given in
657 Table 27. Trends for fiscal years 1950 through 1962 indicate a gradual increase
178 in Aid to Dependent Children cases. This has been noted also for the non-Indian
[115] population as a whole. An opinion with respect to the reason for this was provided
[586] by Pima County welfare officials. More women and children tend to return to the reservation, or remain there. More women are finding out about ADC grants. In
[848] addition, there is a national increase, as well as a local increase, in divorce. There is also an increase in illegitimacy. The primary cause for the condition
[164] that makes a woman and her children eligible for A.D.C., however, is the death,
[165] disability or desertion of the father. On the reservations death claims 25% of
[586] such cases, disability 22%, and desertion about 19% of the total.

162 Given the nature of Papago family economy, the results of a comparison
171 with the non-Indian population of Pima County are not particularly surprising.
657 For 1961 the non-Indian population of the county was estimated to be 48 times as large as the reservation Indian population. Using the population ratio of 1 to 48

594 171 This Papago family including parents and sometimes another adult, with 2 or 3 children is a comparatively smaller unit than native families living on European owned South African farms, for example. There Dutch and English settlers also moved into native held lands, and a class of permanent native farm laborers has grown up. Their average household includes slightly more than 3 596 adults, and 5 children.[1] This is about the size 592 of the Papago extended family living as a household on the reserves. "Most often, and ideally, a household consists of the old parents, unmarried sons and daughters, and married sons with their wives and children--three generations in all."[2] It reflects the fact that living on European operated farms is new to the Desert People, a move accomplished by biological family units in the younger age groups. [177] Only recently as younger Papagos have gone to school and learned white ways have they begun to set up separate households away from their parents.

594 162 Families with school-age children are the largest in the labor camps. The average family size for families with school-age offspring only is over 6.[3] The families with both school and pre-school children averaged over 7 individuals.[4] This probably reflects [165] the high mortality rate of smaller children among the Desert People, whose new-born babies have a life expectancy of only 17 years.[5]

Families with younger parents and all pre-school age children are, of course, smaller, running some 4 individuals, with nearly 2 children per family.[6]

221 596 178 Migration to the cotton fields reinforces the tendency to break up the old Papago extended family into smaller units like our biological family households. This change is most complete among families living in labor camps all the time, having severed their reservation ties more or less completely.

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[1] Hunter, 1937, p. 391.
[2] Joseph, Spicer & Chesky, 1949, p. 48.
[3] 10 families interviewed with 19 school children, 66.
[4] 8 families with 10 school children, 1.25 average, and 14 pre-school, 1.75 average, had 57 persons, 7.125 average, plus.
[5] 8 families with 15 children under 6 had 52 plus people.
[6] Secretary of the Interior, 1949, p. 18.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

164 At the end of the 1950 season when harvesters were gleaning the last bits of fiber from the fields, spinal meningitis killed a baby and his 4-year old sister and hospitalized 6 other residents of a labor camp in the Stanfield area. State Health Department officials charged filthy conditions in the camp were responsible,[1] and treated 50 camp inhabitants with sulfa drugs after posting officers to quarantine the camp.[2]

These are conditions threatening permanent residents of the cotton growing counties, and Papago and other migrant workers who live in labor camps. This is why a reservation town like Santa Rosa can be virtually prostrated by influenza at the end of the picking season when the Desert People return to their reserves.

752 Some ills Papagos fall heir to in camps are more or less special cases, like the woman whose foot was run over by a car in Magdalena. Once in a while some one is 164 bitten by a spider. The Desert People are susceptible to 842 colds and pregnancy, as one farmer put it. But one ser- 853 ious problem they share with many Southwestern Indians is a tendency to feed infants an unsuitable diet. In one 165 labor camp 2 Papago babies died during the summer of 1950 from stomach disorders apparently resulting from eating green fruits in excess and other unsuited foods.

75 The health problem of the Desert People is compounded 177 by their reluctance to submit to European medical treatment. Papago attitudes toward European medicine vary a great deal, from educated individuals who rely on it to conservative families who have nothing to do with it. These most Papago of Papagos baffle farmers who trust in Western medicine implicitly and cannot fathom Papago reasons for not accepting it. One grower, himself of a minority group, could not understand how Papagos could "just lay there and die." But they can, and do, because they know nothing else. Their trust is in native medical practicioners. They do not turn to Western doctors because there have not been enough provided by the Indian Bureau to care for them, and the Papago medical staff has not effectively "sold" itself to the Desert People. All their training has taught the Desert People a system of disease and curing concepts totally different from those of the European doctor's.

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[1] Arizona Daily Star, Feb. 6, 1951.
[2] Tucson Daily Citizen, Feb. 6, 1951.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

362 in a labor camp fire the grower isn't out anything but
466 a picker who can be quickly replaced.

Fires do take an annual toll in labor camps. They
●165 destroy the young: William West, who burned to death when a gas stove exploded in a labor camp, was only 2½.[1] They destroy without regard to occasion: Cecil Spikes, in his middle thirties, died in a labor camp fire on Christmas Day, 1950.[2]

362 To a person who has seen many southern Arizona labor camps, the wonder is that there has not yet been a camp holocaust catching pickers in bed at night and wiping out an entire camp's population. Camp operators have taken almost no precautions against such a catastrophe. Even camps with a number of water hydrants would be at the mercy of an intense fire, for hydrants are seldom equipped with hoses that would put water close enough to a blaze to be effective. Buckets and pans are the labor camp resident's first line of fire defense--and almost his only line.

466 A definite threat to life and limb exists in labor camps in the form of unstable migrant workers, who are largely uncontrolled by any real supervisory authority. In Pima county about a third of the camps were totally unsupervised in 1950. Most of the rest were checked periodically by the farmers, and rarely camps were under supervision by a labor contractor.[3] In Pinal county farmers showed much less concern about what went on in their labor camps in 1950. Less than a fifth of the camps seem to have been under direct supervision by a grower or his wife. Just about a third of the camps were left to the care of a foreman, and an equal proportion were kept under more or less control by a contractor. In a few cases the foreman was a Papago Indian in charge of other Papagos. A few labor camps were completely without supervision of any sort.[4]

[578] General lack of farmer supervision over camps, combined with lack of efficient rural law enforcement in both counties by sheriff's offices in 1950 allowed tension ridden camps far too high an incidence of violence.

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[1] Arizona Daily Star, Nov. 29, p. 13a.
[2] Casa Grande Dispatch, Dec. 28.
[3] Based on information from 12 camps.
[4] Based on information from 15 camps.